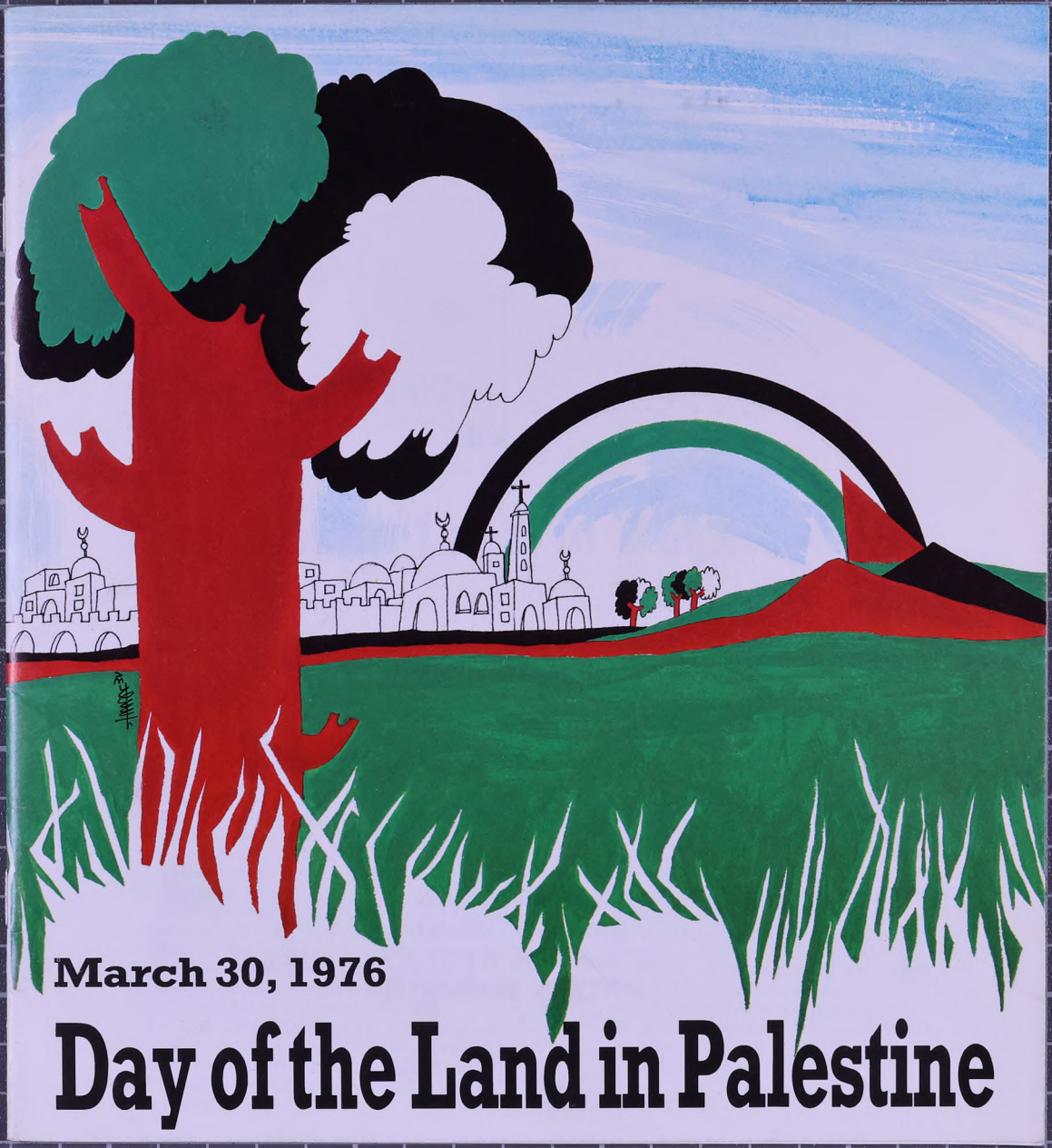

March 30, 1976

Day of the Land in Palestine

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Introduction

"Palestine, a land without a people". When the first Zionist leaders proclaimed this falsehood to justify and support their colonial enterprise, they threw themselves at the same time into what would be one of the most appalling campaigns of extermination of this century.

The thesis was to take shape in a political programme. Since they denied abstractly the existence of a people, they had to see to it that, concretely, it didn't exist. That meant: uprooting, annihilation of identity, political and physical elimination.

The programme was implemented from the beginning of the Zionist settlement of Palestine. The land and water sources were expropriated, the inhabitants massacred . . . to survive, the greater part of the Palestinian people had to take the road of exile.

In 1948, the Palestinian population of *Galilee numbered only 200,000. Those who remained clung desperately to the few parcels of land which were spared – the rockiest, the least fertile. They worked them nevertheless, exploiting every square inch. The relation of the Palestinian to his land implies not only political and economic considerations, it is also a human and passionate relation.

The laws introduced by the Israeli Authorities on March 30 1976, had two major aims: to deprive the Palestinians of their land by means of confiscations, and to change the demographic composition of Galilee as to transform it from an area with a Palestinian majority to one with a Jewish majority.

To protest this process and the orders for new expropriations, the Palestinians of 1948, whose majority lived in Galilee, declared a general strike for March 30 1976. To pre-empt the strike, units from the Israeli army and border police, including armoured units, were despatched to the region, where they killed six protestors, wounded dozens and arrested hundreds. March 30 was to become "Day of the Land".

Immediately after the 1948 war and the ceasefire agreements signed between Israel and the Arab States, the Zionist regime in Palestine proceeded to expropriate every *dunum of land (as well all moveable and immovable property) left behind by the Palestinian refugees. The introduced notorious laws, such as the Absentee Property Law, by virtue of which all land, formerly owned by Palestinians, was "redeemed", and given to Jewish settlers to till and live on.

Dunum = 1,000 square metres

Theft disguised as "laws"

Israel, in its efforts to pauperize Palestinians and alienate them from their traditional means of livelihood, did not confine itself to taking the land of the Palestinian refugees, but extended its operations to dispossess Palestinians who had remained in the country. This was done "legally" by the promulgation of a law called the Present Absentee Property Law, according to which a Palestinian peasant, who may have happened to have been absent from his village or farm during the war, seeking refuge in a neighbouring village to escape being caught in the cross fire, would return home to find his land taken over by Kibbutzim, and he himself later reduced to working on his own land as a common labourer.

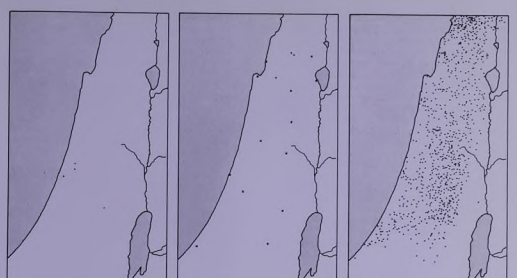
These "Absentee" laws are nothing but acts of outright theft disguised as "laws", making possible the seizure of tens of thousands of dunums of land, not to mention other forms of property. Once a person is declared an "absentee", not only his land but every other possession is handed over to the "custodian". Thus, property valued at millions of pounds has been confiscated from Palestinians who are regarded as "citizens". This is how the absentee property law came to be dubbed the "law of the present absentee". Indeed the definition of "absentee" applied permanently, so that, even after the expropriation of his land, any future acquisitions made as a result of the absentee's own labor were also considered the custodian's property.

The enforcement of this law has been merciless. Paragraph 30 empowers the custodian to issue written certificates as to who is an absentee and what is absentee property; and once he has signed them, these certificates have the effect of law. Thus, if "the custodian has certified in writing that a body of persons is an absentee", or that "some property is absentee property", then that "person or persons shall be regarded as absentees" and "that property, absentee property, so long as the contrary has not been proved".

It has become frequent practice to issue such certificates based on no more evidence than the testimony of a *mukhtar or a collaborator.

The Present Absentee Property Law, and other laws like it, allowed not only for the takeover of individual plots of land, but extended to the takeover (and in some cases the destruction) of whole villages and towns. Of about 807 towns and villages in Palestine in 1945, only 433 were still standing in 1967. Of these, 328 were in the West Bank and Gaza, and 105 inside Israel. In other words, 374 Palestinian towns and villages, disappeared after the creation of Israel. They were demolished, ploughed over, transformed, or given to Jewish settlers.

Mukhtar: headman of a village



SETTLEMENTS, 1878: From the Atlas of Israel, an Israeli government publication.

Judaization of Galilee

After much of the Palestinian land had been expropriated, and Palestinians pauperized, a new policy was adopted by Israel in the late 1950's. Jewish settlement would be generally encouraged and increased, especially in dominantly Arab regions like Galilee.

The most significant of the new measures was the plan to increase the Jewish presence in Galilee. At first this was called the "Project of the Judaization of Galilee", but it was soon renamed "Project for the Development of Galilee" to avoid the hint of racism in the first title. But, despite the change in name, the Israeli government did not deny the plan's purpose. This was not simply a question of gaining additional settlements, always regarded as an important achievement. A genuine Jewish presence would be essential to counter any future demands for the return of Galilee, or part of it, to the Arabs. The areas that had been designated as part of the Palestinian state in the United Nation Partition Plan of 1947 were felt to be especially vulnerable.

Israeli intentions in Galilee were no secret but openly discussed and published on the front pages of the newspapers. The publicity seems to have been organized with the support of the Israeli security departments to win over all those not convinced of the usefulness of the project. Those who favoured the plan had many reasons, including the fact that "throughout the region between Nazareth

and the Lebanese border, the (Jewish) settlers form a minority of the population . . . making it a potentially dangerous stretch of land . . . between Israel's Arabs and the enemy".

The ideal of Judaization seems to have been the brainchild of Joseph Nahmani, one of the originators of "redemption of the land" and the head of the then-powerful Kern Keyneth, the counterpart of the Gush Emunim expansionist block active in the West Bank today, from 1935 until his death in 1965. He had been disturbed that Arabs had remained after teh establishment of Israel, especially in "his area" – Galilee. He had been unable to "redeem" any significant areas of land in Galilee before the creation of Israel, and so decided to carry out his plans with the help of the government.

In January 1953, Nahmani sent a memorandum to the minister of defence, Ben-Guiron which began: *"Though Western Galilee has now been occupied, it still has not been freed of its Arab population, as happened in other parts of the country. There still are fifty-one villages and the city of Nazareth whose inhabitants have not left – in all, there are 84,000 Arabs, not counting Acre, controlling 929,549 dunums of land . . . most of them farmers, who make up 45 per cent of the Arab minority in the country. They are living in a self-contained area stretching right up to the borders of Arab Lebanon".*

For these reasons, Nahmani considered it *"essential to break up this concentration of Arabs through Jewish settlements . . . As for the Jewish settlements to be created in the Arab areas and on the borders of Lebanon, it may be more prudent not to send immigrants newly arrived from Arab countries to live in them".* These would, in time, find much in common with the Arabs. It would be better to send specially-trained members of the youth movement.

Despite these efforts by Nahmani, and Joseph Weitz, who, like Nahmani, had influence and high office in the government as well as others like them, the Judaization of Galilee had not become successful to any significant degree – until Israel was to try again in March of 1976.

Day of the Land was born

The laws introduced on March 30 1976, had two major aims: to deprive the Palestinians of their land by means of confiscations, and to change the demographic composition of Galilee as to transform it from an area with a Palestinian majority to one with a Jewish majority. The land expropriation plan was to be a multi-million dollar housing and development programme.

It had as its intention the "requisition" of approximately half the land owned by Palestinians in the Triangle, for Jewish apartment projects, schools and industry. That, it was hoped, would increase the Jewish population in the Galilee, ultimately transforming the area to a predominantly Jewish, instead of Palestinian, area.

The general strike that was called for March 30 erupted into clashes with Israeli forces who came to the dozen or so towns and villages in the Triangle where the protests were taking place.

The demonstrators set up roadblocks and fought policemen and soldiers with stones and molotov bombs.

The confrontations began, in fact, on the night of March 29, in three Palestinian villages in Galilee – Sakhnin, Deir Hanna and Arabe – between Haifa and Tiberias. Several hundred demonstrators blocked a highway with burning tyres, and showered passing army and police vehicles with stones. At one point the soldiers in a truck fired on the crowd. One man – the first among six – was killed, and seven wounded.

Though a curfew was imposed, the confrontations between demonstrators and soldiers continued in the villages of the Triangle during the night. In a second face-off early that morning, a group of Zionist soldiers fired on a crowd in Sakhnin, killing three men and wounding several. After dawn the troubles spread to many of the Palestinian villages. The fifth fatality occurred in Tira, northeast of Jaffa, close the the 1967 borders in the West Bank, when four policemen opened fire, killing one man and wounding several. Later on during the afternoon, a 14-year old Palestinian was shot dead during a riot in the Galilean village of Can'a.

"Here in Nazareth", said the New York Times, March 31 1976, *"a group of green-uniformed border guards appeared to panic when stones were hurled at them from roofs in the eastern quarter of the town. Shouting and waving their sticks, they charged through the streets beating any Arab they could find."*.

Settlement Programme in Galilee for the 1980's.
Source: *Israel — Land and Nature,* 7/1 (1981), P.15

At one point, the guards attacked the home of the mayor of the town, *"smashing windows and doors and beating several members of his family and friends who had gathered there".*

All over the West Bank, a general strike was observed by Palestinians in a display of solidarity with the protest in Galilee. In Nablus, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, Israeli soldiers went from shop to shop forcing owners to open their doors and resume business – and, if the owners were not there, the soldiers would pry open the doors.

The plan failed. Day of the Land was born.

Naked expropriation

Today, the colonization of the West Bank and Gaza is blatant with Israeli settlers, and officials, no longer resorting to ploys.

The extent of the confiscated land increased from 27 per cent of the total areas of the West Band and Gaza in May 1979 to 33 per cent in September 1980.

By early 1980, six major new residential suburbs housing over 50,000 Israelis had been practically finished, thus encircling the 110,000 Palestinians who were still living in East Jerusalem and separating them from the rest of the West Bank. Furthermore, a plan was announced in March 1980 for the construction of a wide living complex in the district of Beit Hanina. In addition, there exists another plan, called the "Great Jerusalem Plan", which is reported to be under implementation. That plan would lead to the additional expropriation or dispersion of some 130,000 Palestinian inhabitants living in 27 villages in order to include their land within the city limit of "Great Jerusalem".

There exists a close correlation between the establishment of Israeli settlements and the displacement of the Palestinian population. Since 1967 the Arab population has been reduced by 32 per cent in Jerusalem and the West Bank.

The policy of demographic changes has taken another step. In September 1980, Israeli officials announced their decision to speed up the process of "Thickening" (in the official tenology) the settler population before the June elections. The number of Jews in the West Bank increased, between 1977 and 1981, from 3,200 to 20,000. That means an increase of 620 per cent.

The Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza appointed a special team to seek ways to increase the Jewish population from 17,400 to 40,000 within a year (an increase of 150 per cent in 1981).

Zionist plans aim at quadrupling the number of settlers to 100,000 by 1986. According to *Time* magazine (January 17, 1983), by mid-1983, 6,000 new housing units will be completed, and 35,000 Israelis are expected to move into the West Bank. This would more than double the present Jewish population, reaching a total of more than 60,000 (excluding Jerusalem). In the same report, *Time* quoted Israeli Deputy Minister of Agriculture Michael Dekel as saying that the Israeli population figures were still not enough, *"we must reach 100,000".*

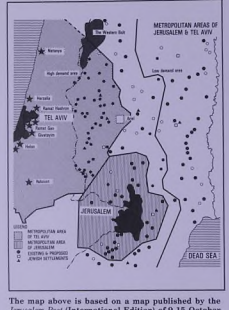
The present construction rates show that in the 108 existing West Bank settlements, some 6,000 housing units have already been bought, another 7,000 are due to be completed and occupied in the near future, and a further

Threshing floor, Palestine by R. Bonnie 1875-1880

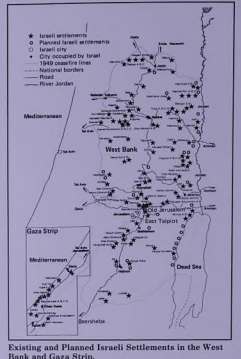
Teach the night to forget to bring
Dreams showing me my village
And teach the wind to forget to carry to me
The aroma of apricots in my fields!
And teach the sky, too, to forget to rain.
Only then, I may forget my country.

Rashed Hussein

12,000 are under construction. Given these figures, it is a fair guess that the Jewish population will exceed 100,000 by 1986.



The map above is based on a map published by the *Jerusalem Post* (International Edition) of 9-15 October 1983.



Existing and Planned Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
Source: U.N. Special Committee 1979, Map No. 3070.

The Palestinian future

According to the Security Council Commission established under Resolution 446 (1979): "In the implementation of its policy of settlements, Israel has resorted to methods often coercive and sometimes more subtle, which include the control of the water resources, the seizure of private properties, the destruction of houses and the banishment of persons".

The economic and social patterns of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories have been substantially distorted. The Security Council Commission states that a number of Palestinian farmers "are now compelled to earn their living and that of their family by working on their own land as the hired employees of the Israeli settlers".

The construction of each settlement invariably produces an impact on the indigenous population of the West Bank. In some cases the impact is easily measurable – either in terms of acres of land or metres of water. In other cases it is more subtle – loss or land or loss of a future. At best the impact will be disruptive; at worst it will help to turn a people out of their land. While they physical impact of the settlement can be minimized, its overall consequences cannot be eliminated.

Palestinians recognize settlements as the most threatening consequence of the occupation. Whereas the occupation intended to govern, the settlements seek to transform. Regardless of their location, size or stated purpose, West Bankers regard each Jewish colony as theft of their land and political future.

The Koenig Memorandum

Demographic Racism in ISRAEL

The following are excerpts from the "Koenig memorandum", a confidential report to the Israeli Ministry of Interior by its district representative in the northern part of the country, where the largest concentration of "Israeli Arabs" reside. Its author, **Yisrael Koenig**, *had served in that post for twelve years at the time the report was published. He is well known in the region for his harsh treatment of the Palestinians.*

The document, was first released in Hebrew by the **MAPAM** *daily* **Al Hamishmar** *(September 7, 1976). Although the document does not represent official government policy, it does reflect the thinking of an important segment of the Zionist policy makers.*

A week after the document was published, Koenig was appointed to head a permanent committee in the northern district to combat Arab construction of "illegal buildings" on "plots belonging to the Israeli land administration"!

We have published here (without any comment) those parts of the document which are relevant to the Day of the Land uprising.

A. THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM AND THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ARAB NATIONALISM

1. The natural increase of the Arab population in Israel is 5.9% annually against a natural increase of 1.5% annually among the Jewish population.

This problem is particularly acute in the northern district where there is a large Arab population. In mid-1975 the Arab population of the northern district was 250,000 while the Jewish population was 289,000. A regional examination shows that in western Galilee the Arab population constitutes 67% of the total; in the region of Yizre'el the Arab population constitutes 48% of the total population. In 1974 only 759 Jews were added to the population of the northern district while the Arab population increased by 9,035.

According to this rate of increaes, by 1978 Arabs will constitute over 51% of the total population of that district.

The nationalists feel – as I do in regard to the Arab population – **that the Arabs' increase in the Galilee will endanger our control of that area** and will create possibilities for military forces from the north to infiltrate into that area in proportion to the acceleration of the nationalistic process among Israeli Arabs and their willingness to help.

2. The Israeli Arab population has received a nationalistic momentum since the 6-day war. The policy of free contact with the West Bank and the open bridges has renewed the contact between the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and the Palestinians east of the Jordan River, and this has created the basis for a show of determination and slogans for a nationalist struggle in Israel. This process, which was inevitable, gained momentum after the Yom Kippur war and was further strengthened after the international political events which were manifested in the recognition of the PLO as the standard bearer of the struggle in regard to the Palestinian problem.

Recently there has been mention of the UN resolution about Israel's borders in 1974 according to which significant parts of this piece of land are not to be included in the State of Israel.

The Israeli Arab is no longer passive and has gone over to nationalistic manifestations – only verbal at this stage – which have seen light in a number of events, the most striking of which were: a) events during the prime minister's visit to Nazareth a year ago; b) the shouting of slogans of solidarity with the PLO during student demonstrations and on other occasions; c) the position of Arab students in the universities on the issue of

guard duty; d) the nationalistic manifestations in the voting in the Nazareth municipal elections on 9 December 1975; e) the devious and unexpected callup of the inhabitants of Nazareth to help the municipality pay off pressing debts, which as that stage eased *RAKAH*'s burden in running the town; f) a protest rally in Sakhnin on 14 February 1975 in which the head of Ramra's local council announced that Israel should fear the Israeli Arabs more than it does the Arabs beyond its borders; g) decisions made at a convention in Nazareth on Saturday, 6 March 1976: . . .

The era of international victories by the Palestinians and the achievements of the nationalists in Israel point to a process of open confrontation with the Arab problem in Israel.

3. **Forecast** The increase of the Arab population (from 150,000 in 1948 to over 430,000 in 1975) gives the Arab nationalists a feeling of power and a hope that time is working for them. This is especially true in an area like northern Israel where the physical Arab presence in contiguous areas represents a checking obstacle.

– The usurping by *RAKAH* of "quasigovernmental" institutions, such as the local councils, creates a legitimate basis for a political nationalistic activity, both overt and clandestine, adopting methods that were in use by the Jewish community in the "prestate era", as well as worldwide communist methods.

– There is grounds for serious apprehensions that within the next decade an Arab political and demographic takeover of the 'Akko and Nazareth areas will occur.

– It must be taken into account that at one of the stages of the hostile political activities a demand of some kind will be raised to hold a referendum in northern Israel where the Arab population is in the majority. This activity will be guided from the outside, but its perpetrators are likely to be nationalistic leftists from among the local populace.

– At some stage a planned provocation by *RAKAH* and/or by nationalists is possible in order to induce an outbreak of disturbances by uncontrolled Jewish elements – a situation likely to have the issue of Israeli Arabs raised at international forums, and concurrently to maneuver the moderate Israeli Arab elements into a situation which forces them to identify themselves with extreme steps within Israel and outside it.

– There are indications of an organized activity in the purchase of real estate by Arabs in the north. This activity is prominent in Upper Nazareth and in 'Akko, and is also causing concern in the Yisra'el Valley.

4. Suggestions **Expand and deepen Jewish settlement in areas where the contiguity of the Arab population is prominent, and where they number considerably more than the Jewish population;** examine the possibility of diluting existing Arab population concentrations. Special attention must be paid to border areas in the country's northwest and to the Nazareth region. The approach and exigency of performance have to deviate from the routine that has been adopted so far. Concurrently, the state law has to be enforced so as to limit "breaking of new ground" by Arab settlements in various areas of the country.

– At the same time, a strong and solid Jewish leadership should be fostered in Upper Nazareth and in 'Akko capable of facing the expected crucial developments.

– Introduce a policy of **reward** and **punishment** (within the framework of the law) for leaders and settlements that express hostility in any way toward the state and Zionism.

– To deny *RAKAH* its "priority" in carrying out a national struggle and representing Israeli Arabs and to provide a valve for communities still sitting on the "fence", a sister Labor Party should be established in which the stress will be on ideas of equality, humanism and language, social struggle and on raising the banner of peace in the region. The establishment has to prepare itself to maintain covert presence and control in that party.

– Invest every possible effort in bringing all Zionist parties toward a national consensus regarding the issue of Israel's Arabs in order to disentangle them from their internal political squabbles.

C. ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

1. **The development and economic improvement of the country's population over the years of its existence did not reach the Arab population.** Moreover, this lack of improvement is strongly felt among this population because it was the poor who remained within the borders after the fighting of 1948-9.

The great gap between supply and demand for labor in all spheres of the market and especially in building, mechanics and general manual labor, and the dependence on this labor that has been created in many spheres of the economy have given a feeling of power to Israeli Arabs which has been taken advantage of by interested hostile elements.

2. The manual aid that is customary among members of a family and the lack of awareness about creative investment on a large scale have left very large sums of cash in the hands of the Arab population. This capital is hidden from the various tax authorities. It should be stressed that while the Arab population in Israel constitutes 14% of the total, and there is no "uprooting" of labor as a result of 3 years of army service among that population, it pays only 1.5% of the taxes. In this way its economic future is decisively insured. Also, the age composition (half of the population is young and working) is of great significance: it means a high income for all families. To this should be added state grants (national insurance to families with more than two children, which is 95% of the Arab families in Israel).

3. A significant issue in the northern district, because of the large concentration of Arabs there, is that projects which are being established with huge investments with the aim of increasing the Jewish population are employing Arab workers on a scale of 25 to 50%. This social and economic security that relieves the individual and the family of economic worries and day-to-day pressures, grants them, consciously and subconsciously, leisure for "social-nationalist" thought which is taken advantage of by hostile elements for various forms of incitement, a sense of power and the possibility of public protest.

4. Forecast: The concentration of mainly black capital in undesirable hands, estimated to be several hundred million pounds, in addition to the economic damage that might be caused by this, could serve as a basis for donations which, in the future, might be put at the disposal of hostile elements (the collection of payments by the Nazareth municipality has already been mentioned).

– The increase of Arab workers in factories might accelerate the friction between Jews and Arabs and develop into uncontrolled incidents.

– By having significant control over various spheres of the economy there is the possibility of striking or of noncooperation and thus causing serious damage to the economy and to the state, and especially political damage by emphasizing their strength as a factor in the country's economy.

– Increasing difficulties in absorbing Jewish workers, especially in the north where we have a special interest in increasing the Jewish population.

5. Suggestions. Appropriate arrangements have to be made with the management of a concern bearing the "approved investment" label in crucial areas (as noted above). *The number of Arab employees should not exceed 10%.*

– The tax authorities must adopt immediate steps to intensify tax collection, performing it with firmness and without deviations.

– Reach a settlement with central marketing factors of various consumer goods that would neutralize and encumber Arab agents, particularly in the northern areas, in order to avoid dependence of the Jewish population on those agents, especially in times of emergency.

– The government must find a way to neutralize the payment of "big family" grants to the Arab population, either by linking them to the economic situation **or by taking this responsibility from the national insurance system and transferring it to the Jewish Agency or to the Zionist organization, so that the grant is paid to Jews only.**

– Endeavour to have central institutions pay more attention in giving preferential treatment to Jewish groups or individuals rather than to Arabs.

. . . . . .

(Signed: 1 March 1976)

SUGGESTION NO.2 (after March 30)

1. Following my previous memorandum and in the light of the 30 March developments and incidents (**Day of the Land Strike**), it is desirable to analyze and assess these incidents and to draw up forecasts for possible new developments in the near future, and a number of suggestions to be implemented soon. The **full success** of the strike in the Arab sector is a fact that ought to be carefully studied and accepted as a starting point for every discussion of the subject. There are several factors which contributed to the success of the strike and to its scope which deserve to be studied:

– There is no way to examine the percentage or the number of Arabs who did not come to work in places outside their residences, but in villages and in the two cities in which the Arab population is concentrated, the strike was complete.

– Control by the strike organizers over all kinds of educational institutions in the Arab sector including church schools insured that the strike was complete.

– The information campaign about the necessity of the strike was begun by "official" factors, local council charimen and public figures who are usually described as moderate and cooperative with the Israeli establishment. It must be assumed that these circles went into action after having lived under the impression that high-ranking elements were backing them and that an "interference" by the Arab populace would persuade the government to withdraw the expropriation. In this activity they competed with each other in extremist expressions, assuming that the achievement would be attributed to the loudest.

2. Despite the fact that the strike and all the preparations and events that accompanied it was planned and executed by *RAKAH*, the party decided not to be very conspicuous in this matter in order to assume, in practice, the leadership of all the nationalities and to be the vanguard of all Arab nationalist activity among Israel's Arabs in the future.

3. There have been a number of impressive achievements for Arab nationalism led by *RAKAH* as the result of the strike day, both the disturbances that took place prior to the strike day and those that took place on the day of the strike.

– For the first time since the establishment of the State of Israel, a situation has been created where the Arab population has identified itself openly and cogniz antly – contrary to the government's request – with an Arab extremist-nationalist demand and have displayed a psychological readiness for actions to achieve it. Moreover, most parts of the Arab population justified and still justify those who rioted and attacked the defense forces, and they talk openly about their identification with them.

– A significant impression was felt in plants and services as a result of the strike by proving the dependence of the smooth operation of the economy on Arab hands. Parallel to that, dependency of the Jewish-run economy on them has been proven to the Arab population . . .

4. Forecast. The conditions created on **"Day of the Land"** and afterwards provide *RAKAH* and the nationalists with many opportunities to incite disturbances in the country and create communal tension and anxiety. It appears that we may witness here a recurrence of the same tactics and slogans used to inflame the masses and turn them loose on the streets whenever the leading elements decided to do so.

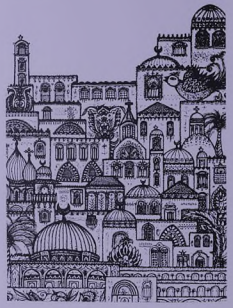
. . . . . .

5. In view of the speedy deterioration and the forecast which I have outlined in my previous memorandum and in the present one, I would like to suggest:

– To immediately create a brain trust which would submit three plans of action to the decision-making elements: 1) for the short run; 2) for the medium run; 3) for the long run.

– An interministerial coordinating committee should be set up immediately at the ministry director level, headed by a minister who would be appointed for that purpose by the cabinet and assisted by the prime minister's Arab affairs adviser.

– In view of the fact that the Interior Ministry is the official practical and central link with the official and elected institutions of the Arab population, it is hereby suggested that the coordinating committee of ministry directors should be headed by the firector general of the Interior Ministry. □



WE SHALL NEVER LEAVE

by Tawfiq Zayad (I clasp your hands)

...
Here
On your breasts
We persist
like a wall
In your throats
as broken glass
unshakeable
And in your eyes
as a tempest of fire

Here
On your breasts
We persist
like a wall
To wash your dishes in your dives
To fill gentlemen's glasses
To scrub the tiles in the black kitchens
To grub a mouthful
for our little ones
From your blue fangs

Here
On your breasts
We persist
like a wall
Starving
naked
provocative
reciting poems

We are the guardians of the shade
Of orange trees and olive trees
We sow ideas like yeast in the pastry
Our nerves are of ice
But our hearts blaze with fire
If we are thirsty
we shall wring the stones
We shall eat dirt
if we are hungry
BUT WE SHALL NEVER LEAVE
And we shall never begrudge our blood

Here
We have a past
a present

Here
Is our future...

Jerusalem/Palestine, by J.D. Woodward 1875-1880

Day of the Land in Palestine